

THE

NORTH AND THE SOUTH

MISREPRESENTED AND MISJUDGED:

OR,

A CANDID VIEW

OF OUR

PRESENT DIFFICULTIES AND DANGER,

AND THEIR

CAUSES AND REMEDY.

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MISREPRESENTED AND MISJUDGED.

WE seem to be standing, as it were, "upon a sea of glass mingled with fire," with danger staring us in the face, rendering the utmost watchfulness and caution at every step, essential to our preservation and safety. The dividing and destroying spirit of enmity has found entrance amongst us, producing its legitimate fruits of contention and strife, discord and confusion. The Babel of human wisdom, pride, and lust, is confounded, and there seems no longer a unity of spirit and language among those who should be one people, having one common end in view—no longer a fraternal feeling filling the breasts of those who are heirs of the same blessed inheritance, and should therefore be united in the advancement of one common cause—in the promotion of justice and liberty, union and peace.

The floods of wickedness seem to have exceeded their former bounds, and we now behold brother in hostile array against brother, because of apprehended or pretended grievances, the result of misrepresentation and misunderstanding, or unscrupulous endeavors to engender dislike and contention, for personal and party ends. The sentiments and designs of one section of our beloved country is judged by the other, from the spirit and language of a *small minority* in each, which comes far short of doing justice to the great body in both; which, it is believed by well-informed and unbiased

observers, is largely conservative, having no fellowship with extreme views or measures, and not disposed to demand "the uttermost farthing."

It may be justly claimed for the North, that its feeling is not one of hatred towards *slaveholders*, as would be indicated by the spirit and language of the more *ultra* advocates of human freedom, but rather of opposition to the *principle* and *system* by which men are deprived of the natural right of liberty, to their own grievance, and the great and unspeakable disadvantage of their oppressors, their beloved offspring, and all within the sphere of the degrading and blighting influence of so great a moral evil. The true sentiment of the Christian breast is that of sympathy for all, of every class and rank, who are suffering from the existence of a great moral wrong, whose tendency is to undermine the principle of free government, destroy religious faith, and lessen the sense of moral obligation; and it is believed that this feeling is largely entertained and piously cherished in the great heart of our Northern people, however much this may be misrepresented, through design, ignorance, or indiscretion.

On the other hand, we feel bound to believe there are noble, generous, and patriotic hearts in the South, who perhaps *equally* deprecate the existence of the great impediment to religious, social, and political advancement, which is found in our nation's crying sin; and these not a few, who would rejoice, together with their Northern brethren, in beholding the institution of some kind and merciful means whereby this might safely be removed, and thereby the liberties of the people insured, the honor of the nation vindicated, and its welfare and prosperity promoted. Let these, if they dare, raise their voices so as to be heard, and there will be an echo from the North which will unite in drowning the sound of violence and rebellion, both here and there; lest by the admission of one division or revolution, license be given to others; seeing that the same spirit of insubordination and rebellion that would produce these in one instance, would

tend to increase their occurrence—one separation opening the way for another.

"It is a mistake to suppose that the present tyranny of politicians, and their servant, the mob, can be approved by the best people in the South; it is abhorred, and only submitted to for sake of quiet, and in hope it will be of short duration. If slavery had not another enemy in the world, not another influence working its downfall, this despotism would accomplish it. For fifty years and more, the subject of slavery was freely and publicly discussed and talked about, South as well as North, and no man can point to any evil resulting from this free speech that can compare with one hour of the savage and watchful despotism enforced for some years past in parts of the Southern States."

Suggestions to Thomas H. Benton, respecting Feasible Measures of Emancipation.

In 1856, the following kind suggestions, as a safe mode of effecting the freedom of the slaves, were made in a letter to the author, with the request that, if apparently suitable, they might be communicated to the late Thomas H. Benton, while he was abroad from home lecturing on the subject of "The Union;" the substance of which was forwarded to him, to which he made a respectful and suitable reply. Since then, there has appeared a suggestion to purchase the slaves of the border States, which is also a kind and considerate proposition.

"I observe by the paper to-day," said our correspondent, "that Colonel Benton has accepted an invitation to deliver a lecture at Newburyport, on the 26th inst., on the subject of 'The Union.' He acknowledges he thinks there is danger of disunion; and I suppose the object is to allow a Southern man and slaveholder to show wherein he thinks the danger lays, and to suggest such preventive measures as he thinks will avert the calamity. When I saw the notice I looked

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round to see if I knew any one who lived, or had lived, in Newburyport, that I might press upon them to present to his consideration, when there, the importance of slaveholders, or rather slave States, doing away with those very obnoxious laws, which are really very unjust and oppressive in their operation upon the poor slaves—treat them as men and as Christians—heirs of the same inheritance with ourselves. Let them also be instructed in a manner suited to their condition—literary and Christian instruction—so as to make them good servants, influenced by motives of love and respect to their masters, and thus gradually prepare them for that eventual freedom which he can hardly doubt awaits them sooner or later. Such a course appears to me as the most just, and best calculated to allay the agitation that now exists.

“The slaves are a class at the South, whose assistance could not well be spared in raising their vast crops of rice, cotton, sugar, &c., and if by a kind and humane course of conduct they could be prepared to act as free men, and to be suitably rewarded for their labor, the experience of the North, in all its varied branches of industry, proves requited labor to be the most profitable, and no doubt such would be found to be the same at the South. Let the Southern slaveholder employ kind-hearted men to direct their business, and let these employ the poor blacks in such way as would encourage them, by some honorable motive, to be industrious; and when they have done a reasonable day’s work, allow them the benefit of any overwork they might do, to be passed to their credit as a fund to purchase their freedom. Such a course I should hope would abate the agitation at the North, prevent the danger of an ultimate convulsion in the South, and perhaps of ultimate ruin and bloodshed. It would seem like an acknowledgment which we have all been too slow to learn, that He who is no respecter of persons rules in the kingdoms of men, and will assuredly, sooner or later, plead the cause of all that are oppressed.

“I should think if such views as these were presented and

urged upon such an independent and considerate man as I believe Col. Benton is thought to be, they would have some weight in directing the attention of the South in the only course which I can see likely to prove safe to themselves, and to secure the blessing of heaven.

"I have no doubt but the thought of freeing the blacks without compensation, is a very great impediment in the way of many who would thus become reduced in their circumstances, and perhaps impoverished; but if a fund could be provided, as suggested above, equivalent to their value, this objection would be removed; the slaves would still be left where they are most needed, where the climate is best adapted to their constitutions, and where, in general, their relatives reside, and their local attachments are fixed.

"Job R. Tyson, of your city, has published a collection of the obnoxious laws of the different States relating to slavery, which is to be had in an abridged pamphlet form, and would be very suitable to accompany the suggestions I have made, if the subject should be thought of sufficient interest."

If in the same kind, forbearing spirit, manifested in the foregoing suggestions, the wise and reflecting men of the nation, both North and South, would seek to discover, and propose, means and measures whereby the condition of the slave might be ameliorated until he could be safely emancipated, we might hope for a beneficial result.

Similar suggestions have been made by an enlightened author, in a *late* publication, who says: "We are led to inquire, whether slavery is not capable of elevating itself; whether slaves cannot work out their own emancipation; and whether any other mode of emancipation, where large numbers are concerned, is practicable or beneficial to the slaves, than that which sets freedom before them as the reward of a course of industry distinctly marked out. When the negroes, by their own labor, pay for themselves, under a system arranged by their masters, they will become prepared to make their own way in the world, and this will prevent the sending

forth of many such freedmen as become nuisances to the community in which they reside."

In addition to the foregoing, was also subsequently communicated in another letter, from the same person, the following equally suggestive remarks upon this deeply interesting subject :

" We ought to look towards the gradual extinguishment of slavery as a fixed thing ; to be effected in such way as would least endanger the slaveholders themselves, and best prepare the slaves for the change. The spirit of the Gospel would be the only safe foundation to build upon, and if this were adopted, and kept to, it would be found to be fruitful in resources for every emergency. If the slaves were assured that such a boon as freedom was intended, it would silence complaints, and stimulate exertion. If banks and insurance offices can save to themselves a reserved fund, sufficient for all exigencies, I see no reason why a well-directed system of labor should not enable the poor slaves to pay for themselves, and thus leave with their masters a sum sufficient to retain them in their service as freemen. Whatever slaveholders may say to the contrary, it is very evident that there is not, at present, a good feeling between them and their slaves. If it were so, there could be no occasion for all those stringent laws ; there would be no appearance of these extensive combinations to acquire their freedom ; which state of things must be expected to continue until the spirit of the Gospel is suffered to rule amongst them, inducing the masters to do as they would be done by, and the slaves to be content with their condition, rendering their services without compulsion. Let some such standard as this be held up by the more pious and conscientious class of slaveholders, and let them prepare their minds to suffer the opposition of unreasonable men without wavering, and I have no doubt the Divine blessing would attend, and eventually crown their labors with success."

Our brethren of the South are not to be despoiled of their just rights, by the will or consent of those whom they regard

as their avowed enemies, as they may fear ; but a disposition on their part to moderation and concession will be met by their Northern friends in the spirit of kindness and conciliation. Let not the one demand too much, and the other will not concede too little. Let each endeavor to soften the apparent asperity of feeling—which seems the result of mutual misunderstanding, produced by designed or unintentional misrepresentation—by reciprocal assurances of kind feeling and intention—free from the acrimonious influence of party spirit—and a due observance of Christian courtesy ; then we may believe one of the greatest obstacles to our remaining together as members of the one great household, enjoying the protection and benefit of a happy Union, will be effectually removed.

Let all, both North and South, seek to forget the things that are behind, and press forward in the promotion of our high calling, of becoming an ensign of virtue and liberty, union and peace, to those nations now groaning under the cruel yoke of oppression and bondage, and separated one from the other by hostile jealousy, and mutual pride. Let each and all seek to lay down the sword of accusation and crimination, that they may be brought under the peaceful banner of brotherly affection, breathing “peace on earth and goodwill to men,” and seeking to hasten the approach of that day when the lion and the lamb shall lie down in *peace* together, and a little child shall lead them ; when Ephraim shall no longer envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim, but instead of oppression and contention, strife and division, we shall behold the reign of justice and freedom, harmony and love.

Let us work on, and pray on, till every vestige of animosity and disloyalty is buried beneath the overwhelming flood of fraternal love, and our hands and hearts united in advancing the cause of universal freedom and peace ; when the stars shall again “sing together, and all the sons of God shout for joy ;” when “righteousness shall cover the earth as the waters do the sea ;” when “swords shall be beaten into plow-shares,

and spears into pruning-hooks, and men shall learn war no more." In view of our departure and degeneracy, as a people, as well as of our present danger, let the aspiration of our hearts be, "Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them."

Views of consistency and propriety.

While the great body of the nation unite with the civilized and Christian world, in their abhorrence of slavery, deprecating the system of human bondage in our land, by which the advancement of religion, intelligence, and freedom is greatly hindered, the eyes of these are not closed to the *danger* of becoming indoctrinated with the view, that a good end justifies the use of unlawful means; that any one evil is the sum of all iniquity, and therefore opposition to it the whole substance of religion; that the existence of error is all the needful warrant for embarking in the labors of reformation, without any certain call to, and qualification for the work, from a higher authority than mere human reason or will; whereby, through running without being sent, and putting forth of the hand unbidden, the support of a good cause has incurred for it the reproachful appellation of infidelity, confirming the sentiment, that a good cause often suffers more from the indiscretion of its friends, than from the opposition of its enemies; that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God;" that in order for our labors to be crowned with success, we must strive *lawfully*; that "zeal without charity, like a ship in a storm, is in danger of wrecks."

There is much truth in the sentiment, that "the world would soon grow better, if *crimes were more* detested, and *criminals less*." Here is an important distinction, too seldom made and observed; which, if duly kept in view, and rightly maintained, in our treatment of religious errors, and moral evils,

our labors for their correction would prove much more availing; for, though persecution may produce conformity, it will not beget conviction; though force may subdue, it is love alone that gains; and "it is wisely ordered that neither nations nor individuals can deteriorate each other without injuring themselves; nor promote the welfare of others without partaking of the benefit conferred." Hence the necessity of adhering strictly to "the golden rule," in our endeavors to correct errors, or remove evils,—dealing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly, so that we may "hurt not the oil or the wine."

Is it not an evidence of the increased depravity of the human heart, to behold the readiness with which injuries are now committed and avenged; with which evils are maintained and assailed in the one spirit of cupidity and malevolence? Is it not proof of the want of true Christian and fraternal feeling, to behold the people of one great and favored nation, fostering sectional strifes and party jealousies, and indulging the spirit of vindictiveness, with a seeming willingness to incur the displeasure of our Supreme Ruler, and the visitations of his wrath? Let us fear and tremble, in view of these things, lest, by trampling under foot the law of truth and justice, we find our landing in confusion and anarchy, war and bloodshed, as a judgment upon us because of our disregard of those things which tend to promote harmony, order, and peace, justice, liberty and union; those fundamental principles of a free government upon which alone it can stand.

Is it compatible with the existence of such a government, that it should be made the strong arm of support, and the instrument of extension and perpetuation, to a system of human oppression, which is now perhaps without a parallel in the civilized world? Is not the experiment, that we, as a nation, have been trying, whether an institution, like that of slavery, can receive the almost unlimited patronage and support of a government like ours, and not endanger the liberties of the nation, rather than whether the people are capable of self-

government? Or, in other words, whether republicanism and despotism are not antagonistical, and therefore unharmonious members of the same family; making it incumbent upon every true lover of his country and kind, to labor and to pray for the gradual extinction of so great a source of discord and discontent, and such a formidable enemy to the principles of free and united government, by every *right* and *lawful* means, such as are furnished by the Author of our being, in the power of his living word, by which, through faith, his servants are able to subdue kingdoms, and work righteousness?

Common Brotherhood of Mankind.

The following views of a Gospel minister, who in earlier times was made an instrument in the Divine hand of ridding the Church of which he was a member of the guilt of human oppression, may now be read with interest and instruction, as a sample of forbearing and *effectual* labor wrought in the spirit of kindness and affection. In his introduction to the treatise on the subject of the keeping of negroes (first printed in 1754), he says:

“What I write on this subject is with reluctance, and the hints given are in as general terms as my concern will allow. I know it is a point about which, in all its branches, men that appear to aim well are not generally agreed; and for that reason I choose to avoid being very particular. If I may happily let drop anything that may excite such as are concerned in the practice to a close thinking on the subject treated of, the candid amongst them may easily do the subject such further justice as, on impartial inquiry, it may appear to deserve; and such an inquiry I would earnestly recommend.

“When we remember that all nations are of one blood (Gen. 3: 20), that in this world we are but sojourners, that we are subject to the like afflictions and infirmities of body, the like disorders and frailties of mind, the like temptations, the same death, and the same judgment, and that the all-wise

Being is Judge and Lord over us all, it seems to raise an idea of *general brotherhood*, and a disposition easy to be touched with a feeling of each other's afflictions; but when we forget those things, and look chiefly at our outward circumstances, in this and some ages past, constantly retaining in our minds the distinction between us and them, with respect to our knowledge and improvement in things Divine, natural, and artificial, our breasts being apt to be filled with fond notions of superiority, there is danger of erring in our conduct toward them.

" We allow them to be of the same species with ourselves ; the odds is, we are in a higher station, and enjoy greater favors than they. And when it is thus that our heavenly Father endoweth some of his children with distinguished gifts, it is for *good ends* ; but if those thus gifted are thereby *lifted up above their brethren*, not considering themselves as *debtors to the weak*, nor behaving themselves as faithful stewards, none who judge impartially can suppose them free from ingratitude.

" When a people dwell under the liberal distribution of favors from heaven, it behooves them carefully to inspect their ways, and consider the *purposes* for which those favors are bestowed ; lest, *through forgetfulness of God, and misusing his gifts, they incur his heavy displeasure*, whose judgments are just and equal, who exalteth and humbleth to the dust, as he seeth meet.

" To consider mankind otherwise than brethren, to think favors are peculiar to one nation, and to exclude others, plainly supposes a darkness in the understanding ; for as God's love is universal, so when *the mind is sufficiently influenced by it*, it begets a likeness of itself, and the heart is enlarged towards *all men*. Again, to conclude a people forward, perverse, and worse by nature than others, who ungratefully receive favors and apply them to bad ends, will excite a behavior toward them unbecoming the excellence of true religion.

"Through the force of long custom, it seems needful to speak in relation to color. Suppose a white child, born of parents of the meanest sort, who died and left him an infant, falls into the hands of a person who endeavors to keep him a slave. Some men would account him an unjust man in so doing, who yet appear easy while many black people, of honest lives and good abilities, are enslaved in a manner more shocking than the case supposed. This is owing chiefly to the idea of slavery being connected with black color, and liberty with the white; and where false ideas are twisted into our minds, it is with difficulty we get fairly disentangled.

"The color of a man avails nothing in matters of right and equity. Consider color in relation to treaties, by which disputes between nations are sometimes settled. And should the Father of us all so dispose things that treaties with black men should sometimes be necessary, how then would it appear amongst the princes and ambassadors to insist on the prerogative of color? Whence is it that men who believe in a righteous Omnipotent Being, to whom all nations stand equally related, and are equally accountable, remain so easy in it, but because the ideas of negroes and slaves are so interwoven in the mind that they do not discuss this matter with that candor and freedom of thought which the case *justly calls for*?

"It appears by Holy Record, that men under high favors have been apt to err in their opinions concerning others. Thus Israel, according to the description of the prophet (Isa. 65 : 5), when exceedingly corrupted and degenerated, yet remembered they were (or had been) the chosen people of God, and could say: 'Stand by thyself, come not near me, for I am holier than thou.' The opinion of peculiar favors being *confined to them* was deeply rooted.

"A covetous mind, which seeks opportunity to *exalt itself*, is a great enemy of *true harmony* in a country; envy and grudging usually accompany this disposition, and it tends to stir up its likeness in others. And where this disposition

ariseth so high as to embolden us to look upon honest, industrious men as our own property during life, and to keep them to hard labor, to support those customs which have *not* their foundation in right reason, or to use any means of oppression, *a haughty spirit* is cherished on one side, and the *desire of revenge* frequently excited on the other, till the inhabitants of the land are rife for great commotion and trouble, and thus luxury and oppression have the seeds of war in them ;" as we are now seeing by the endeavor to overthrow a liberal government in order to establish a monarchy.

Scripture Bondage a Punishment or otherwise a Crime.

" To suppose it right that an *innocent* man shall at this day be excluded from the common rules of justice, be deprived of that liberty which is the natural right of human creatures, and be a slave to others during life, on account of a sin committed by his immediate parents, or a sin committed by Ham, the son of Noah, is a supposition too gross to be admitted into the mind of any person who sincerely desires to be governed by just and solid principles.

" It is alleged in favor of the practice that Joshua made slaves of the Gibeonites. What men do by the command of God, and what comes to pass as a consequence of their neglect, are different ; the case now mentioned was such as the *latter*." In both the above cases bondage was the penalty of disobedience or sin ; but who can suppose that this was to be visited upon their descendants, who should be *innocent* of their transgressions ? Is this consistent with the attributes of Him who rewardeth us individually according to our deeds ?

" It is also alleged that the Jews by their laws made slaves of the heathen. The Jews undoubtedly had slaves, whom they kept as such from one age to another ; but that this was agreeable to the genuine design of their inspired law-giver, is far from being a clear case.

" Making constructions of the law *contrary* to the true meaning of it, was common amongst that people. Samuel's sons took bribes, and *perverted judgment*. Isaiah complained that they *justified the wicked for reward*. Zephaniah, contemporary with Jeremiah, on account of the *injustice of the civil magistrates*, declared that those judges were evening wolves, and that the priests did violence to the law.

" Jeremiah acquaints us that the priests cried peace, peace ! when there was no peace ; by which means the people grew bold in their wickedness, and, having committed abominations, were not ashamed, but through wrong constructions of the law, they justified themselves, and boastingly said : ' We are wise ; and the law of the Lord is with us.' These corruptions continued [even] till the days of our Saviour, who told the Pharisees, ' You have made the commandment of God of none effect through your tradition.'

" That the liberty of man was, by the inspired Law-giver, esteemed precious, appears in this—that such who unjustly deprived men of it were to be punished in like manner as if they had murdered them. ' He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, shall surely be put to death.' This part of the law was so considerable, that Paul, the learned Jew, giving a brief account of the uses of the law, adds this : ' It was made for men-stealers.'

" The great men among that people were exceedingly oppressive, and it is likely exerted their whole strength and influence to have the law construed to suit their turns. The honest servants of the Lord had heavy work with them in regard to their oppressions ; a few instances follow. ' Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. If you thoroughly execute judgment between man and his neighbor ; if you oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow ; and shed not innocent blood in this place ; neither walk after other gods to your hurt, then will I cause you to dwell in this place.'

" Again, this message was sent not only to the inferior ministers of justice, but also to the chief ruler. 'Thus saith the Lord, Go down to the house of the king of Judah, and speak there this word; execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, and do no wrong; do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow; neither shed innocent blood in this place.' Then adds, 'That in so doing they should prosper; but if ye will not hear these words, I swear by myself, saith the Lord, that this house shall become a desolation.'

" It appears that the great men amongst the Jews were fully resolved to have slaves, even of their own brethren. (Jer. 34.) Notwithstanding the promises and threatenings of the Lord by the prophet, and their solemn covenant to set them free, confirmed by the imprecation of passing between the parts of a calf cut in twain, intimating by that ceremony that on breach of the covenant, it were *just* for their bodies to be so cut in pieces, yet, after all, they held fast to their old custom, and called home the servants whom they had set free. 'And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbor; and ye made a covenant before me, in the house which is called by my name, but ye turned and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, whom he had set at liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants and for handmaids; therefore thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his neighbor, and every one to his brother. Behold, I proclaim a liberty for you to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth. The men who transgressed my covenant, which they made, and passed between the parts of the calf, I will give into the hands of their enemies, and their dead bodies shall be meat for the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth.'

" Soon after this their city was taken and burnt, the king's

sons and the princes slain, and the king, with the chief men of his kingdom, carried captive to Babylon.

“Where the innocent suffer under hard-hearted men, even unto death, and the channels of equity are so obstructed that the cause of the sufferers is not judged in righteousness, ‘the land is polluted with blood.’ When blood hath been shed unrighteously, and remains unatoned for, the cry thereof is very piercing.

“Under the humbling dispensation of Divine Providence, this cry hath deeply affected my heart, and I feel a concern to open, as I may be enabled, that which lieth heavy upon my mind.

“When ‘the iniquity of the house of Israel was exceeding great, when the land was defiled with blood, and the city full of perverseness, some were found sighing and crying for the abominations of the times.’ And those who live under a right feeling of our condition as a nation, I trust will be sensible that the Lord at this day doth call to mourning, though many are ignorant of it. So powerful are bad customs when they become general, that people, growing bold through the example one of another, have often been *unmoved at the most serious warnings.*

“Our blessed Saviour, speaking of the people of the old world, said, ‘They ate, they drank, they married and were given in marriage, until the day that Noah went into the Ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all.’ The like he spoke concerning the people of Sodom, who are also represented by the prophet as haughty, luxurious, and oppressive. ‘This was the sin of Sodom; pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness, were found in his and in her daughters; neither did she strengthen the hands of the poor and needy.’

“In a revolt so deep as this, when much blood has been shed unrighteously in carrying on the slave trade, and in supporting the practice of keeping slaves, which at this day is unatoned for, and crieth from the earth and from the seas against the oppressor; while this practice is continued, and

under a great load of guilt, there is more unrighteousness committed, the state of things is very moving.

“There is a love which stands in nature, and a parent beholding his child in misery hath a feeling of the affliction; but in Divine love the heart is enlarged towards *mankind universally*, and prepared to sympathize with strangers though in the lowest stations in life. Of this the prophet appears to have had a feeling when he said, ‘Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why then do we deal treacherously every man with his brother in profaning the covenant of our fathers?’

“He who of old heard the groans of the children of Israel under the hard task-masters in Egypt, I trust hath looked down from his holy habitation on the miseries of these deeply oppressed people. Many lives have been shortened through extreme oppression, while they labored to *support luxury* and worldly greatness; and though many people in outward prosperity may think little of those things, yet the gracious Creator *hath regard to the cries of the innocent*, however unnoticed by man.

“The unoffending, aged, and infirm are made to labor too hard, kept on a diet less comfortable than their weak state requires, and exposed to great difficulties, under hard-hearted men, to whose sufferings I have often been a witness, and under the heart-melting power of Divine love their misery hath felt to me like the misery of my parents.

“*The professed followers of Christ joining in customs evidently unrighteous*, which manifestly tend to stir up wrath and increase wars and desolations, has often covered my mind with sorrow.

“If we bring this matter home, and, as Job proposed to his friends, ‘put our soul in their soul’s stead;’ if we consider ourselves and our children as exposed to the hardships which these people lie under in supporting an *imaginary greatness*, and, in such a case, behold an increase of luxury and superfluity amongst our oppressors, and therewith felt an increase

of the weight of our burdens, and expected our posterity to groan under oppression after us ; under all this misery, had we none to plead our cause, nor any hope of relief from man, how would our cries ascend to the God of the spirits of all flesh, who judgeth the world in righteousness, and in his own time is a refuge for the oppressed.

Oppression a Reproach to the name of Religion.

“ If they who thus afflicted us continued to lay claim to religion, and were assisted in their business by others, esteemed pious people, who through a friendship for them strengthened their hands in tyranny ; if, when we were hunger-bitten, we could not have sufficient nourishment, but saw them in fulness pleasing their taste with things fetched from far ; if, when we were wearied with labor, we were denied the liberty to rest, and saw them spending their time at ease ; if garments answerable to our necessities were denied us, while we saw them clothed in that which was costly and delicate ; under such affliction, how would these painful feelings rise up as witnesses against their pretended devotion ! And if the name of their religion was mentioned in our hearing, how would it sound in our ears like a word that signified self-exaltation and hardness of heart !

“ The prophet Isaiah mentions oppression as that which the true Church, in time of outward quiet, should not only be clear of, but should be *far from* it : ‘ Thou shalt be *far from* oppression.’ Now, these words ‘ *far from* ’ appear to have an extensive meaning, and to convey instruction in regard to that of which Solomon speaks, ‘ Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished.’

“ It was a complaint of one of old, ‘ When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with him.’ It was a complaint of the Lord against Israel, through his prophet Ezekiel, that ‘ they strengthened the hands of the wicked, and made the hearts

of the righteous sad.' The Apostle asketh this question : ' What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness ? ' And again saith, ' Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them.' Again, ' Be not partaker of other men's sins ; keep thyself pure.'

" Were we for the term of one year only to be eye-witnesses to what passes in getting slaves from Africa ; was the blood which is shed to be sprinkled upon our garments ; were the poor captives, bound with thongs, and heavy-laden with elephants' teeth, to pass before our eyes on their way to sea ; were their bitter lamentations day after day to ring in our ears, their *mournful* cries in the night to hinder us from sleeping ; were we to hear the sound of the tumult when the slaves on board the ships attempt to kill the English, and behold the issue of those *bloody* conflicts ; what pious man could be a witness to these things, and see a trade carried on in this manner, without being deeply affected with sorrow ?

Pride and Self-exaltation tend to Division and Confusion.

" Where men are wicked, they commonly are a means of corrupting the succeeding age, and thereby hasten those outward calamities which fall on nations when *their iniquities are full.*"

And may not now this prophetic testimony, given forth respecting *our future*, more than half a century ago, be found applicable to this nation ? " I took the forefathers of this country from a land of oppression ; I planted them among the people of the forest ; I sustained them, and while they were humble I blessed and fed them, and they became a numerous people. But they have become *proud and lifted up, and have forgotten me* who nourished and protected them in the wilderness, and are running into every abomination and evil practice of which the old countries are guilty, and have taken quietude from the land, and have suffered a dividing spirit to come amongst them."

Has not this dividing spirit, wherewith the Lord is chastising his people, till they return to the faithfulness of their forefathers, entered various churches, causing great trouble and sorrow? and has it not at last entered politics throughout our land, threatening to produce great calamities, because of our iniquities and the blood of Africa? Is there not great danger of so far incurring the Divine displeasure by a continuance in the evils complained of, which have opened the way for the entrance of this rebellious spirit, as to bring down upon us the judgment pronounced upon those who lead into captivity?—"He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity;"—for licentiousness, pride, and oppression unquestionably tend to bondage, according to the teachings of the history of the past; wherein those nations which have become rich, profligate, and tyrannical have been enslaved by usurpation, or destroyed by some greater scourge, as in the case of the land of Pharaoh, that great and mighty king, having a mighty host of chariots and horsemen, which were all drowned in the sea, after Egypt had been visited with numerous plagues because of the hardness of his heart; which caused his servants to say unto him, "Let the men go, that they may serve the Lord their God. Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?"

In 1770, the minister from whose writings we have so largely drawn, prophetically declared as follows: "I have seen, in the light of the Lord, that the day is approaching when the man that is most wise in *human policy* shall be the greatest fool, and the arm that is mighty to support injustice shall be broken to pieces. The enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed."

And again: "As a proud and selfish spirit prevails and spreads among a people, so *partial* judgment, oppression, discord, envy, and confusion increase, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adversity as a reward of

their own doings. Thus the inspired prophet, reasoning with the degenerated Jews, saith, ‘Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know, therefore, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord of hosts.’

“‘Come ye out of Babylon, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.’ Thus Babel, or Babylon, was built in the spirit of self-exaltation: ‘Let us build us a city and tower, whose top may reach to heaven, and let us make us a name.’ In departing from an *humble trust in God*, and in following a selfish spirit, people have intentions to get the upper hand of their fellow-creatures, privately meditate on means to obtain their ends, and have a language in their hearts which is hard to be understood. In Babel the language is confounded.

“It is remarkable in this call, that the language from the Father of mercies, is ‘*my* people.’ Thus tender his mercies are toward us in an imperfect state; and as we faithfully attend to the call, the path of righteousness is more and more opened; cravings which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, more and more cease; and in an inward purity of heart, we experience a restoration of that which was lost at Babel, represented by the inspired prophet, in the ‘returning of a pure language.’ Happy for those who humbly attend to the call, ‘Come ye out of Babylon, my people.’

“How deeply soever men are involved in difficulties, sincerity of heart, and upright walking before God, freely submitting to his providence, is *the most sure remedy*. He only is able to relieve not only persons, but nations, of their greatest calamities.”

The God of Israel, of David, and of Daniel, still liveth and reigneth, and He will yet deliver those whose trust and confidence are in him; whose desire, in times of trouble and danger from men, is like that of David, when he said, “Let me fall now into the hand of the Lord, for very great are *his*

mercies; let me not fall into the hand of man." "The empires and kingdoms of the earth are subject to his Almighty power. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh, and deals with his people agreeably to that wisdom the depth whereof to us is unsearchable."

How wonderful is the influence of his power upon the minds and hearts of men, which He can turn as a man turneth his watercourse in his field! How doth He restrain the hands of the wicked and designing, in times of trial and danger like the present, according to the prayers of his servants, who are seeking to stand in the gap, as mediators and intercessors, until the breach of this people be healed—until peace is restored within our borders as a token of returning faithfulness and favor!

The Scriptures opposed to Oppression.

"If a man be just and do that which is lawful and right, and hath not oppressed any, and hath spoiled none by violence, he shall surely live." Is it not occasion of wonder as well as regret, that in this enlightened, liberty-loving, and liberty-seeking age, wherein Christianity is so generally professed and inculcated, any intelligent mind should be found ready to plead for oppression or persecution on scriptural ground; that any friend of humanity should be found unwilling to respond to the sentiments proclaimed by the wisdom of earlier days, when, in the comparative infancy of reformation, human slavery was deemed an enemy to religious and political freedom, and persecution a violation of the divine law of charity?

But thus it is; and this affords renewed evidence of the willingness to sacrifice justice and truth at the shrine of self and party interest,—to pervert the design of divine Providence in the creation of man, by reducing immortal beings,—the children of one heavenly Parent, formed *for the purpose of his own glory*,—to the degrading condition of absolute subju-

gation to human control,—wherein the denial of the natural, sacred, and inalienable rights of manhood, is deemed essential, yea, indispensable, to the continued existence of the system by which man is made the proprietor of his fellow, and allowed the position of sole arbiter of his rights and privileges;—and to frustrate the end of charity by taking up a reproach against our erring neighbor, in the ill-natured spirit of accusation and crimination.

With the assumption and exercise of such a power as that by which the poor African is brutalized, how can we reconcile those divine statutes and commands of Holy Writ, founded upon the principle of equality which recognizes as one common brotherhood, the children of one common Parent,—heirs of the same blessed inheritance,—that all, of every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, were created of one blood, and are the children of one heavenly Parent, from amongst whom are to be gathered those who shall make up the church of Christ, and the host of heaven?

What is there in the law that decreed the same punishment to the oppressor which was visited upon the murderer, to justify the holding of men in hopeless and degrading bondage?

Among the many passages in Holy Writ which are directly opposed to oppression, we have the following commands and admonitions: “If any man be found *stealing any of his brethren, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him,* then that thief shall die.” “He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death.” “Deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it.” “Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke.” “Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry, but shall not be heard.” “Woe unto him that useth his neighbor’s service *without wages.*” “Do justice to the afflicted and needy, rid them out of the hand of the wicked.” “He shall judge the people in righteousness, and

shall break in pieces the oppressor." "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto *all* the inhabitants thereof."

These and many other passages of the Old Testament, bearing more or less directly upon the subjects of oppression and liberty, might, it would seem, convince every reflecting, candid mind, that while the former was recognized as an offence against God and man, the latter was designed to be the natural and inalienable boon of every unoffending member of the human family, of which no one could despoil him but at his peril. That the former is also a sin according to the New Testament, will appear in the declaration that "all unrighteousness is sin;" and that the latter is both the evidence and result of virtue, in the testimony that "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there *is* liberty."

Beside the evidence of Scripture testimony in opposition to oppression, as the fruit of men's lusts, and in favor of liberty, the offspring of virtue, there is that in every truly Christian breast that subscribes to "the golden rule," and admits the laborer to be "worthy of his hire," recognizing the Divine command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Let us mark the threatened judgments upon those who should refuse to deal justly and love mercy according to the Divine command. "Therefore thus saith the Lord; ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine."

And again: "Because ye trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon; therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant. And he shall break it as the breaking of the potter's vessel that is broken in pieces. He shall not spare." And lastly: "This is the portion of a wicked man with God, and the heritage of oppressors, which they shall receive of the Almighty. If his children be multiplied it is for the sword. Though he heap

up silver as the dust, the innocent shall divide it. *Terrors take hold on him as waters.* The east wind carrieth him away and he departeth, and as a storm hurleth him out of his place; for God casteth upon him, and shall not spare. Men shall clap their hands at him, and shall hiss him out of his place." "The wicked fleeth [even] when no man pursueth."

How can it be contended that evidence is wanting of the offensive nature and influence of oppression, or of the penalty incurred thereby? Is it any wonder that the Scriptures should admonish us to "envy not the oppressor and choose none of his ways," or that we should be assured that "he that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker;" since it is so evidently the will of God that he should be honored by the exercise of justice and mercy, the true foundation of liberty, which is his gift? That the Scriptures of truth stand opposed to oppression in every form, which, from the time of Pharaoh to the present, has been visited with plagues of various kinds, as judgments upon its authors, it would not seem to become any candid observer, possessed of common intelligence, and having a due regard to his reputation for discernment or candor, to deny or even to question.

Are there not many, yea a majority of the inhabitants of this land, who can respond to the declaration of an eminent Southern senator when he said, "I envy not the head or the heart of that man from the North, who rises here to defend slavery upon principle?" He doubtless represented the mind of a great portion of our Southern brethren, many of whom dare not give expression to the feeling of opposition which fills their noble breasts, and which would find utterance but for the reign of terror, the fruit of the iniquity by which they are surrounded. How many of these would now dare to proclaim with the reputed Father of our Country, "It is among my *first wishes* to see some plan adopted by which slavery, in this country, may be abolished by law?"

Would not this be counted treason, and sufficient ground for banishment in this *more enlightened* day, wherein the dis-

covery is professedly made, that slavery is a Divinely authorized and beneficent institution, the fruit of whose labor is proclaimed king? And the more it is cried against, the greater is the clamor of its worshippers, who would have all bow down before it, even as the craftsmen of Ephesus, who, when they saw their "craft in danger to be set at nought, and the temple of the great goddess Diana to be despised, and her magnificence to be destroyed, whom, said they, all Asia and the world worshippeth, *were full of wrath*, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians ;" which they did again and again, until one in authority had appeased them, assuring them of the worship of "the great goddess, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter," and admonishing them that "seeing these things cannot be spoken against, they ought to be quiet, and do nothing rashly."—Acts 19: 24–36.

Views of Eminent Men of the Past.

In reference to the advocacy of oppression, let us consider the justness and force of the views of Patrick Henry. "Is it not a little surprising," said he, "that the professors of Christianity, whose chief excellence consists in softening the human heart, in cherishing and improving its finer feelings, should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong? Is it not amazing that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, that in such an age and in such a country, we find men professing a religion the most mild, humane, and generous, adopting such a principle, as repugnant to humanity as it is *inconsistent with the Bible and destructive to every liberty?*"

In this connection read also the views of Thomas Jefferson, "Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis,—a conviction in the

minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God ? that they cannot be violated but by his wrath ?" And again, " We must *wait with patience* the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that he is preparing for the deliverance of these, our brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall involve heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress. Nothing is more certain in the book of fate than that this people shall be free."

The Spirit of the Gospel the Power of Reformation.

Can we not believe that there exists at this very hour thousands, even among our Southern brethren, with corresponding views, accompanied with the desire for the hastening of that day when one of the greatest scourges of our land shall be removed—when the dark cloud of human degradation which is now hanging over a professedly Christian and free people, shall be dispersed by the light and power of the Gospel, whereby alone the hearts of men can be availingly reached and savingly convinced, and thus induced to turn from their wicked ways ?

Let those who feel themselves called to this branch of the work of reformation, address themselves, in the forbearing spirit of kindness and affection, to the *better feelings* of those whom they would convince of their error, and not appeal to the *baser passions*, by raillery and taunting, to the turning of judgment away backward ; let them remember that grievous words *stir up anger*, but a soft answer turneth away wrath ; and that crimination and recrimination never lead to reconciliation—that human nature is the same the world over, and is ever disposed to resist the exercise of violence, either in language or deed.

As water to a city in a blaze, so may be the words of kindness and conciliation to the flame of passion, when its

high streaming and wide spreading volume may seem to threaten the bulwarks of a nation's glory, the safeguards of a nation's peace—when reason, justice, and liberty may be endangered by their greatest enemy—when the lust and pride of the human heart may, for a season, eclipse the counsels of wisdom, and, during the darkness of the hour, lead men into acts, respecting which, sober reflection, and a sight of the consequences, will convince them of something like having sold their birthright for a consideration even *worse* than valueless.

While we are disposed to view, and prepared to prove the system of human slavery an offence against God and humanity, an enemy to social, religious, and political freedom, inconsistent with *every* law of justice, and every attribute of goodness and mercy, and totally at variance with the precepts of the Bible, and the professed principles of our government, let us not forget, that evil, to be rightly subdued, must be *overcome with good*; that in order that our endeavors to promote the amelioration and final extinction of it, by *peaceable* means, may be crowned with success, we must strive *lawfully*, even as "Michael, who, in disputing with the devil, durst not bring railing accusation against him," but committed all judgment to the Supreme Power of heaven and earth; according to the divine admonition, "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place to wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." Let us not, therefore, take the sword into our own hands, wresting it from Him to whom vengeance belongs, lest we perish with it; but rather, if our enemy hunger feed him, if he thirst give him drink, and be content to suffer all the appointed time, until the Judge of the oppressed shall be pleased to pronounce "It is enough," and work their deliverance by *his own* means, as in the case of the bondmen in Egypt, when Pharaoh and his host were plagued, and finally overthrown. To these, when in extremity, the command was, to "Stand still and behold the salvation of God;" confirming the truth

of the testimony, that “Man’s extremity is God’s opportunity.”

Let us remember also that when David went forth against Goliah, it was not in the armor of Saul, but with a simple sling and a smooth stone, taken from the brook ; comparable to the power of truth, which continues to be mighty, and will eventually prevail. Simple faith in God, and in the power of his word, will enable us to overcome mountains of opposition, even as the holy Apostle, who declared, “I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.” “By faith Moses forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king. By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about seven days ; and by this holy men of old subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens.”

Said the Apostle, “The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.” It was by these that Felix was made to tremble, as Paul “reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come.” It was by these that King Agrippa, before whom Paul was brought to be examined, because of an alleged offence, was led to declare, “Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.” It was not by any wrathful attack upon his opposers, or *violent* justification of himself or his cause, that conviction was wrought upon the mind of the king, but by a simple relation of his manner of life before his conversion, the power and means whereby he was brought to see the error of it, his obedience unto the heavenly vision, and of the nature and end of the mission unto which he had been called ; for which cause, said he, “the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me.”

In the language and labors of Christ and his apostles there appears nothing of the spirit of vindictiveness, nothing of railing, taunting, or resentment ; but a simple endeavor “to

turn men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God ;” which was declared to be the end of their mission. In this there was no self-seeking or self-exaltation ; but self was made of no reputation, and their disinterested and forbearing labors were crowned with eminent success, even to the conversion of thousands. Would that those who, in our day, have espoused the cause of reformation might emulate their example, being exercised by the same divine spirit.

But how do we find it ? On the one hand we may behold glaring and dangerous evils, and on the other see them assailed in a spirit that would call down fire from heaven upon its enemies, until wrathful attack is followed by violent resistance, and every vestige of the spirit which breathes “ peace on earth and good-will to men,” seems buried beneath the fire of creaturely wrath. Thus extremes meet and join in one common cause ; thus is frustrated one common end ; and man, whose aim is happiness, finds a worm at the root of his indulgences and labors. Instead of simply seeking to controvert *error* and correct *evils*, we are too liable to assail *individuals* who may be the authors or victims of them, and thus to hinder the cause we design to promote ; as persecution always defeats its own end, by strengthening the cause it is designed to weaken, whether it be good or whether it be evil.

One of the first steps towards a right qualification for a reformer is to be enabled to acknowledge from the heart *all men as brethren*. Then may it be hoped his labors will be actuated by gentle influence of fraternal affection, to the producing of conviction and working of reformation, through the convincing and persuasive, yet forbearing power of truth. Divested of all selfish and party feelings, and looking with a single eye to the direction of best wisdom, and the promotion of the general welfare, how little room would be found in our hearts for the spirit of enmity and accusation, leading to violence of word or deed ; and what place would be given to

that divine principle of charity which would enable us to do good even to our enemies, and thereby promote the reign of peace and good-will! Laying aside all malice and evil-speaking, and loving our neighbor as ourselves, how should we be *bound together as one family*, doing and suffering whatever might be required of us for the good of our brethren, *without respect of persons,—for the advancement of one common cause, without regard to self-interest or self-sacrifice!* Is it not one step in this great work of evident duty to seek, according to our call and qualification, to convince men of their danger from a departure from the law of truth, in the forbearing spirit of the Gospel? and should not this be received as an evidence of friendship and kindness, rather than of enmity or hostility?

Scripture command in respect to returning Servants.

To return again to the subject of Scripture testimony against oppression, or slavery, we find that the law is opposed to restoring fugitives to their masters; so that if we take the Bible for authority, the statute of our government, respecting the restoration of slaves who may have escaped from bondage, would seem an error. The passage, or command, bearing directly upon this point, says: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master, the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee." This, together with the command, to "deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor," do not seem to favor the requirement of our law, which demands the pursuit of the opposite course, attaching a severe penalty to the refusal of compliance.

Considering this contradiction, or opposition, to the Scripture commands, and the injustice of causing men to violate their consciences and feelings of humanity, should we not seek to have the present law, respecting fugitive slaves, either modified or done away; so that it may either be less exacting, or not existing on our statute books? Should any law be allowed to stand recorded in the books of

a professedly free and Christian government, which is opposed to plain Scripture commands, and which cannot be enforced without causing a violation of the law of God, and of the consciences of his servants? A law which cannot be duly respected and regarded, without conflicting with natural rights, and Divine commands, seems liable to lessen the security for the observance of those which are just and liberal. Should there be found in our laws, any warrant or occasion for the plea made by the apostle,—“we ought to obey God rather than men,”—not that we would encourage insubordination and rebellion, by any means, but rather the repeal of unwise and unjust laws, and the passage and observance of such as might receive the Divine sanction, and therefore promote the increase and continuance of religious, social, and political freedom, which have their foundation in the immutable laws of justice and truth, and can be permanently and effectually sustained upon no other.

Views of Bacon and others, respecting Sedition and Oppression.

Among the causes of sedition, Bacon reckons the following; some of which may be found to operate in producing the present alarm and confusion in the minds of the people, and the councils of the nation, by which the peace and prosperity of the country are disturbed, and seem greatly threatened. “When,” said he, “any of the four pillars of government are shaken or weakened (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather.” What then must be the case, when *all of them are thus affected?* Do we not now recognize the need of prayerful endeavors to arrest the progress of the dividing spirit of discontent and strife, which has found its way into both Church and State? seeing that *when this has not been timely effected, the worst consequences have followed.* In this there is required no sacrifice of sound principle, but rather a strict adherence to it, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, pursuing a firm yet forbearing

course of *evident* duty, regardless of consequences ; for, while duties are ours, events are God's. Be just then and fear not.

"The causes and motives of sedition," says Bacon, "are innovations in religion, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, factions grown desperate, and whatever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause;" and among the preventatives against seditions and troubles, he counsels justice, mercy, and the promotion of liberty and equality ; for says he, "If there be any truth which the deductions of reason alone, independent of history, and again, which history alone would establish independently of antecedent reason, it is this, that *a whole class of men placed permanently under the ascendancy of another as subjects, without the rights of citizens, must be a source, at best, of weakness, and generally of danger, to the State.* It is notorious, accordingly, how much Sparta was weakened and endangered by the helots, always ready to avail themselves of any public disaster as an occasion of revolt. The frightful expedient was resorted to of thinning their numbers, from time to time, by an organized system of massacre ; yet, though a great part of the territory held by Lacedæmon was left a desert, security could not be purchased *even at this price.* Indeed, almost every page of history teaches the same lesson, and proclaims in every different form, 'how long shall these men be a *snare* unto us. Let the people go, that *they may serve their God* ; knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed ?' (Exodus 10 : 7.) 'The remnant of these nations which thou shalt not drive out, shall be pricks in thine eyes, and thorns in thy side.' " (Num. 33 : 55.)

Can we not trace in the social system of our Southern brethren, something of what is above described as the cause of weakness and danger to the State, and what is truly occasion of discontent and degradation to four millions of human and immortal beings ; who, deprived of their *dearest* natural right, and held in abject subjugation to despotic rule, are crying for deliverance ; and this in a land boasting of freedom as one

of the chief blessings of the nation? Do we not behold in this wicked and oppressive despotism a designing enemy, which is insidiously seeking to undermine the foundation of free government, not only in the States where the system of iniquity is tolerated, but in the general government, by the power of which the institution is defended and supported; seeking to lessen, one by one, those privileges, which are the inalienable right of *all men*, by the institution of a reign of terror, North as well as South?

What a fearful poison is found under the wings of this hateful monster, carrying blasting, mildew, and death, whithersoever it may take its flight, or extend its influence! What a withering blight is it to all that constitutes general, social, and religious progress! and how apparent is this to a large number of noble and honest-hearted patriots, dwelling in the midst of its baneful and destroying influence! May these be strengthened, to raise their voices against its preposterous claims and assumptions, while there is yet hope for the preservation of *their* liberties! Some have already spoken fearlessly and nobly, and their words of rebuke have doubtless found a response in many a trembling heart, who, unlike their representatives, hardly dare to venture the assertion that liberty is the natural right of man, or that souls are found under any other than a white skin.

"The *brutalizing* effects of oppression, which cannot immediately be done away by its removal, at once furnish," says Bacon, "a *pretext* for its continuance, and make relief hazardous." "But," says he, "kind and liberal treatment, cautiously and judiciously bestowed, will gradually advance men towards the condition of being worthy of (prepared for) such treatment." In reference to slavery in the United States, the great contradiction and enemy of Republicanism, he says, "The rapid multiplication of slaves, which has already rendered their emancipation a difficult and hazardous step, makes it more so every year, and increases the danger of a servile war." "The slaves," says he, "are not ripe for

freedom—*no enslaved people ever are*—and to wait before you bestow liberty, or political rights, till the recipients are fit to employ them aright, is to resolve not to go into the water till you can swim. It is the part of wisdom, however," said he, "to lessen these evils, as far as can be, by careful preparation, and by bringing forward the several portions of any measure in the best order."

"Where slavery exists," says Madison, "the republican theory becomes still more fallacious;" and, says Monroe, "We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union." What a check to our national prosperity, and stain upon our national character, is this source of discontent and discord, from whence have emanated so many unreasonable and unjust demands, which, for the sake of peace and union, have been answered by a forbearing government! And how unreasonable, when the *prospect* of a denial of some of these appears, that, like a spoiled child, who has been led into insubordination by continued indulgence, the advocates of slavery should rise up and declare themselves no longer loyal subjects of the national government; no longer bound to adhere to the national compact, deliberately made and unquestionably binding, and which it is their *interest*, as well as duty, faithfully to continue, not only as a means of protection and power, but of social and religious advancement!

Let the moderate and conservative portion of the North unite with their sympathizing brethren in the South, who are alike convinced of the baneful influence of a system of human degradation and oppression, not only upon the poor down-trodden African, but upon the body politic of our country, and are desiring to see devised some *lawful* means whereby to arrest its aggression and spread, and provide for its gradual and safe extinction; let such as these unreservedly and fearlessly proclaim their sentiments, and take their stand in the breach made by the extremists of both North and South, and as their numbers and strength should become apparent, and the influence of their sentiment be brought to bear in re-

buking violence of language on one hand, and furious raging and rebellion on the other, we might hope for a return of peace, good feeling, and good understanding ; and that, while no sound principle should be sacrificed. Is not the trouble and danger of our present situation awakening and bringing into action those latent feelings and talents which are designed for the hushing of the voice of oppression, and the inspiring of the people with a love for virtue, liberty, and peace ? Let these fulfil their mission, and we have no fear for the result.

Moderation, accompanied with *justice* and firmness, is powerful, and mostly successful, in overcoming prejudice and rebellion ; while haste and violence usually produce resistance, and stir up strife and contention, sowing the seeds of discord among brethren. The wisdom of serpents and harmlessness of doves seem indispensable to success in stilling the troubled waters of the sea of wickedness, when it is threatening to overwhelm and destroy ; for when the enemy cometh in like a flood, the Lord alone can lift up a standard against him, so that he shall not prevail against those whose trust and confidence are in his overruling providence, who in all ages has made a way of escape for his people, and still continues to plead the cause of the oppressed ; as it is written, “ He shall judge the people in righteousness, and shall break in pieces the oppressor.”

The design and end of our present troubles.

May it not be that the troubles and difficulties with which we are now encompassed, are permitted to arouse us from a state of ease and indifference, and remind us more fully of our duty and responsibility, as well as of our forgetfulness and danger ; to bring us more sensibly to feel, and more fully to acknowledge, our dependence upon the goodness and guidance of Him, without whose notice and regard not even a sparrow is permitted to fall to the ground ? May it not be the design of our Heavenly Parent, by awakening us to a sense of our follies and weakness, to incite us to greater diligence and faithfulness in the exercise of humble watch-

fulness unto prayer, seeking his forgiveness, direction, and aid, that we may be found walking with acceptance before Him, as an ensign to the nations of the earth, who are bound as in affliction and iron, because of the triumph of wickedness ?

Let us seek to bear in mind the highness of our calling, and the greatness of our responsibility,—dwelling as we are in a land flowing with multiplied blessings and unspeakable favors,—lest by our forgetfulness we incur the Divine displeasure, and provoke our merciful yet just Benefactor to withdraw the light of his countenance, leaving us to grope in the darkness of earlier times, amid the desolations of his righteous judgments. May all be incited to greater faithfulness, devoting more of our time and talents in seeking by affectionate prayerful labor, to hasten the coming of that day when swords shall be beaten into plowshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and men shall learn war no more ; when the darkness which seems now to cover the earth, and gross darkness the people, shall give place to the light of the Gospel ; when the wisdom and haughtiness of men *shall be laid low*, and the spirit of our Holy Redeemer exalted in our hearts over all that is opposing his reign and kingdom ; when righteousness shall cover the earth, as the waters do the sea.

What meaneth these shakings at home and abroad ? Is oppression to give place to liberty, and darkness to light, and thus the foundations of wickedness to be destroyed ? Let time solve the problem ; and meanwhile, let us labor and plead for the prevalence of the spirit that breathes “ peace on earth and good will to men,” and leads to the breaking of every yoke of bondage, and the dispelling of every cloud of darkness ; for it is written, that our labor in the Lord shall not be in vain, and that “ the fervent effectual prayer of the righteous availeth much.” Wherefore let us work on, and pray on, until we may be permitted to behold of the travail of our souls, and be satisfied. Instead of devoting so much of our time and strength to the pursuit of our own temporal gratifi-

cation and aggrandizement, pursuing the path of human policy in the promotion of self-interest, or devotion to party, let us seek to be actuated by that honesty of principle which would point to an enlistment under the banner of *truth*, striving to keep our ranks in righteousness, following the Captain of salvation, who was never foiled in battle or beaten in the field, and is still going on conquering and to conquer, till the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ; till his kingdom is set up in the hearts of his children; then, through the denial of self, and a fervently prayerful endeavor to promote the general welfare, might we hope for a more fraternal and united feeling, so that incense, and a pure offering, should arise from the nation as from the heart of one man, bringing down upon us the blessing of heaven.

Well may we now inquire, “Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?” Do not “the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed, saying, let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us?” But what sayeth the Scriptures respecting these? “He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision.” Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure. “Yet, saith he, have I set my King upon my holy hill of Zion, I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.” Does not this foretoken the reign of justice and peace, wherein shall be witnessed the blessings pronounced upon the meek, the merciful, and the peacemakers,—who shall possess the earth, obtain mercy, and be called the children of God?

Seeing then that truth, justice, and liberty, are to be exalted and established in the earth, let us, as heirs of so blessed an inheritance, seek to hasten the approach of the

universal reign of righteousness, co-operating with the workings of the awakening, tendering, and uniting spirit of grace, whereby there is begotten a holy oneness of feeling and purpose, tending to the promotion of the general good, without respect of persons or party, sect or nation. Was it not upon the principle of oneness of interest, and of natural equality, that the founders of our government sought to build? And is it not upon this alone that the Republic can stand? For no sooner do we depart from this fundamental principle, than we find ourselves drifting towards the rocks of aristocracy and despotism,—those enemies of a free government which are now threatening the further destruction of the liberties of our Southern brethren, of which many of them are becoming fearfully aware, seeing the reign of usurpation and terror to which they are being subjected, and the oppressive exactions which are being imposed upon them by their assumed or self-exalted and self-constituted rulers.

The struggle between error and truth.

The struggle between the self-exalting and oppressive, dividing and destroying spirit of the world, and the humbling, gentle, uniting, and saving spirit of grace, is doubtless as great at the present fearful juncture, as at any former period; and upon the subjection of the one, and the triumph of the other, depends the continuance of oppression, or the increase and spread of freedom; for the one is the power of Satan unto destruction, and the other the power of God unto salvation; one is the tree of knowledge, bearing the evil fruit of pride, ambition, lust, and avarice—fleshly wisdom, human policy, self-conceit, self-sufficiency, and self-exaltation,—leading to oppression, persecution, dishonesty, robbery, rebellion, violence, tyranny, and all manner of wickedness—the taste of which is death to all that constitutes the happiness and peace of a Christian heart,—while the other is “the tree of life, the leaves of which are for the healing of the nations.”

Unto what shall we compare the spirit which is seeking to

divide this nation, and despoil it of its glory and strength, but unto that many-headed monster, described by the Evangelist,—“the great red dragon having seven heads and ten horns, who with his tail drew down the third part of the stars of heaven ?” Whereunto shall we liken the disposition now so prevalent,—causing men to turn, some in one direction and some in another, from the simple path of manifest duty,—but unto that spirit of rebellion which causes men to prefer the pleasure of sin for a season, to temporary suffering with the people of God,—having with Moses, an eye to the recompense of reward,—unto that evil angel who made war against heaven, preferring to reign in torment to serving in paradise ; and who, therefore, was cast out into the earth ; where, like a roaring lion, he is going about seeking whom he may devour, making war against the righteous which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ ?

But blessed be God, this power is limited, so that the adversary, with all his evil angels, shall never be able to overthrow the work of the Almighty, while those for whom it hath been wrought, and by whom it hath been cherished, shall *continue their trust in, and allegiance to Him, confiding in his wisdom, and obeying his commands* ; for he hath promised, and *will fulfil*, that *these* he will never leave nor forsake, but will be with them to the end of the world ; that no weapon formed against them shall prosper, and that every tongue that shall rise against them in judgment they shall condemn. “*This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord.*”

This wicked warfare, though continued by the enemy of heaven, and all his evil angels, even to this present hour, with all vigilance and perseverance, will not, we may believe, be permitted to overturn the faith of those whose hearts are established in the truth, or turn them aside from the evident pointings of duty, as manifested in the secret of their own minds ; but these, as they continue their trust and allegiance, will doubtless be preserved, on the right hand, and upon the left.

The object of Church and State governments.

Is it not professedly for the promotion of the principles of virtue, wherein alone our safety consists, that Church and State governments are set up and established in the earth? Is it not for mutual encouragement, sympathy, and welfare, that Churches are organized, and States united? Should it not therefore be the individual endeavor of their members to strive for the doing away of everything that tends to discord, contention, and division—to reproach, condemnation, and the incurring of the displeasure and judgments of our Supreme Ruler—lest, through persistence in offence against his righteous law, we provoke the visitations of his wrath, through the plagues which are written in his book? Are not these things worthy to be considered, yea, and seriously pondered, while yet He is waiting to be gracious to a favored, yet degenerate people, who have come far short of answering the design of his merciful and all-wise providence?

While desiring our own individual preservation, in an evil time, let prayers and supplications be offered up for the oppressed, and all in authority, that righteous liberty, and just government, may succeed oppression and injustice, and our nation be exalted to its designed position, as the great exemplar of the world, in virtue and self-government,—in social, religious, and political freedom. Let all, with increasing watchfulness and perseverance, seek to shut out every feeling that would engender hatred and unlawful strife, tending to violence or bloodshed; endeavoring to maintain a feeling of charity towards all, however much they may differ from us, either in opinion or practice,—a disposition that would lead us to pray even for our enemies, as well as for our friends,—that we may receive the countenance and support, aid and direction, of Him who is king of heaven and earth, and is able *to bless or to blast*, according to his own good pleasure. Let those in authority, as well as the governed, remember, that “*righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people;*”

and also the promise to the wicked, and all nations that forget God. Psalm 9:17.

Our Individual Duty and Responsibility.

We are individually, as well as collectively, accountable for our influence and example, and neither nations, churches, nor individuals can look for Divine blessing and favor while living in forgetfulness of God, or in secret or open rebellion against the law of truth, inwardly revealed; and outwardly proclaimed by its loyal subjects, in the volume of Divine inspiration, who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Spirit; for the end of this righteous law is the glory of its holy Author, and the peace and happiness of those created in his own image.

“Every individual should bear in mind that he is sent into this world to act a part in it; and though one may have a more splendid, and another a more obscure part assigned him, yet the actor of each is equally—is awfully, accountable. Let no one think he may live to himself alone. Each individual has a sphere of usefulness to occupy, and his happiness is closely connected with the performance of his duty.

“We are most likely to prosper in our attempts *to glorify God and serve our generation*, when we are convinced by experience that we can do nothing of ourselves—when our whole dependence is placed on Him, and our only expectation is from Him, we shall then be prepared to mark and to record *his* works of power and love. Those whom he employs, he brings to *feel* as well as to *acknowledge* their insufficiency.

“Many of the trials of good men look like miseries, which yet, on the whole, appear to have conducted greatly to their happiness. Witness the many prayers which they poured out in these calamities, the many seasonable and shining deliverances which succeeded them, and the many hymns of praise they sang to God, their deliverer; so that they seem to have been cast into the fire on purpose, *that the odor of their graces might diffuse itself all around.*”

If we would be the happy subjects of reform, and the united

instruments of promoting the work of reformation, which *is* going forward in the hearts of the people,—causing them to see and confess their faults, and seek to forsake them,—let us not forget the Divine agencies of truth and love, whereby this is being effected, and is to be further advanced, to the healing of the breaches whereby we are now so *divided* in sentiment and feeling, profession and purpose; both in Church and State.

Rules and Sentiments of Matthew Hale.

The following rules and sentiments of the eminently pious Judge Hale may now prove interesting and instructive, as a guide to others in their management of government, and dealings with men. “I have always been careful to mingle justice and honesty with my prudence, and have always esteemed prudence, acted by injustice and falsity, the arrantest and most [evil] practice in the world; because it prostitutes thy gift to the service of hell, and mingles a beam of thy Divine excellence with an extraction of the devil’s furnishing, making a man so much the worse by how much he is wiser than others. I have always thought that wisdom, which, in a tradesman and in a politician, was mingled with deceit, falsity, and injustice, deserved the same name; only the latter is so much the worse, because it is of the more public and general concernment.

“The reputation of justice and honesty I was always careful to keep untainted, because a blemish in it would be dishonorable to Thee—an abuse of a talent which thou hast committed to me—a weakening of an instrument which Thou hast put into my hands, upon the strength whereof much good might be done by me.

“When thy honor, or the good of my country was concerned, I then thought it seasonable to lay out my reputation for the advantage of either, and to act it, and by and upon it, to the highest, in the use of all lawful means; and upon such an occasion the counsel of Mordecai to Hester was my encouragement.”—Hester, 5.

"I have always observed that honesty and plain-dealing in transactions, as well public as private, is the best and soundest prudence and policy, and commonly, at the long run, overmatcheth craft and subtlety; for the deceived and the deceiver are thine, and *Thou art privy to the subtlety of the one and the simplicity of the other*; and as *Thou*, the great moderator and observer of men, doth dispense success and disappointment accordingly.

"I have ever esteemed thy prudence best employed when it was exercised in the preservation and support of thy truth, in the upholding of thy faithful ministers, in countermiming, discovering, and disappointing the designs of evil and treacherous men, in delivering the oppressed, in righting the injured, *in preventing wars and discords*, in preserving the public peace and tranquillity of the people where I live, in the faithful advising of my prince, and in all those offices incumbent upon me by thy providence.

"When my end was most unquestionably good, I ever then took most heed that the means were *suitable* and *justifiable*; because the better the end is, the more easily we are cozened into the use of ill means to effect it; we are too apt, while with great earnestness of mind we gaze upon the end, not to care what course we take, so as we attain it, and are apt to think God will dispense with, or, at least, overlook the mis-carriage in our attempts, if the end be good. Thy name and honor do more suffer by attempting a good end by bad means, than by attempting both a bad end, and also by bad means; for bad ends are suitable to bad means; they are alike; but everything that is good hath somewhat of Thee in it, and the evil and scandal, infamy and ugliness that is in the means is cast upon the end, and doth disparage and blemish it, and consequently it dishonors Thee.

"I have observed some men of eminent justice and uprightness of life, purity and sanctimony, mercy and gentleness, patience and forbearance, bounty and liberality; and I have observed them to be *very happy men, and blessed in what*

was most desired by them. I have observed men of notorious and wicked lives, traitors, murderers, oppressors, adulterers, covenant-breakers, and other villanies, secured by eminent power, policy, or secrecy ; yet by wonderful providence *that power broken, that policy disappointed, that secret discovered, and eminent judgments, answerable to their eminent demerits, have overtaken them.*"

In respect to our conduct in view of, or under troubles, he gives the following wholesome counsel : " If either before the access or irruption of troubles, or under their pressure, any thing or person in the world solicit thee to ease or deliver thyself by a breach or wound of thy conscience, know they are about to cheat thee of thy *best* security under God against the power and malignity of troubles ; they are about to clip off *that* lock wherein, next under God, thy strength lieth. Whatever, therefore, thou dost hazard or lose, *keep the integrity of thy conscience*, both before the access of troubles and under them. It is a jewel that will make thee rich in the midst of poverty ; a sun that will give thee light in the midst of darkness ; a fortress that will keep thee safe in the greatest danger, and that is never to be taken unless thou thyself betray it, and deliver it up."

Admitting the truth of the foregoing, and seeing that "bad as the world is, respect is always paid to virtue ; that in the usual course of human affairs it will be found that a plain understanding, joined to acknowledged worth, contributes more to prosperity than the brightest parts without probity or honor ;" what occasion and encouragement have we to trust in the honest support of truth for the overthrow of the specious fallacies of human wisdom and policy, whereby our nation has been led into trouble and confusion.

When *sound* principle shall have taken the place of human policy, and a desire for the *general welfare*, without respect of persons or parties, shall have displaced the feeling of self-love, and party zeal, then may we hope for the beginning of an end to contention and strife, oppression and violence, dis-

loyalty and rebellion ; and all those evils by which the peace and harmony, happiness and prosperity, of a favored people, are disturbed and destroyed ; then may we look for the prevalence of fraternal affection, and an end of those feelings of party prejudice and jealousy, and personal hostility, which are the bane of human society, changing what might be an Eden into one vast field of trouble, confusion, and sorrow—frustrating the end of justice and charity—countenancing and encouraging a violation of the law of mercy and equity—conning at evil for the sake of personal or party favor, or the punishment of enemies—and thus exalting the destroying spirit of enmity, whereby truth is made to suffer, and the reign of oppression, rebellion and anarchy promoted.

Wherefore, let all of every rank and station within our wide spread country—and especially those in authority—seek to be governed by those principles of justice and mercy, which characterize the dealings of our Supreme Ruler ; *patiently waiting*, and quietly hoping, for the prevalence of wiser counsels, and a more eminent feeling of fraternal union, as the reward of faithful obedience and humble trust ; then may we look for a return of Divine favor and blessing, enabling us to example the world in righteousness,—causing the reign of order to succeed the reign of confusion,—proving through us to the nations of the earth, that virtuous liberty is the source of true happiness, and impartial justice the foundation of good government.